

## Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01     SECTO 32059 01 OF 03 110032Z

70

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PA-02

PRS-01 INR-07 INRE-00 /043 W

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 SECTO 32059

FOR USIA: IPS; IBS; IOP; IEU; IAA

E.O.: 11652 N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: KISSINGER/CROSLAND PRESS CONFERENCE

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF PRESS CONFERENCE HELD TODAY AT  
THE FOREIGN AND CO-MONWEALTH OFFICE IN LONDON.

BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ANTHONY CROSLAND. MR. CROSLAND  
OPENED THE PROCEEDINGS.

CROSLAND: DR KISSINGER IS PAYING A VALEDICTORY VISIT TO  
LONDON, WHICH HE HAS LONG SINCE PLANNED, FOLLOWING THE  
NATO CONFERENCE IN BRUSSELS. HE WILL BE DOING A NUMBER  
OF IMPORTANT THINGS - GOING TO A FOOTBALL MATCH TOMORROW,  
GOING TO THE THEATRE TOMORROW NIGHT; MORE IMPORTANTLY  
HE IS BEING GIVEN A FAREWELL DINNER, FAREWELL ONLY IN HIS  
ROLE AS SECRETARY OF STATE, BY THE PRIME MINISTER THIS  
EVENING AT NO. 10. AND WE ARE VERY GLAD TO WELCOME HIM  
HERE. THIS, IN FACT, WAS ARRANGED - THIS VISIT - A LONG  
TIME BEFORE WE ALSO ARRANGED BY COINCIDENCE A ROUNDUP  
REVIEW OF THE RHODESIAN SITUATION WITH MR. IVOR RICHARD,  
WHO HAS COME BACK FROM GENEVA FOR THIS. IT HAS BEEN A  
VERY HELPFUL ACCIDENT THAT THE TWO HAVE FALLEN TOGETHER  
BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH IVOR  
RICHARD AS WELL AS WITH DR. KISSINGER'S OFFICIALS AND MY  
OFFICIALS ON RHODESIA. AND I THINK THAT WE APPROACHED  
THAT PROBLEM WITH A VERY WIDE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT. WE  
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PAGE 02     SECTO 32059 01 OF 03 110032Z

HAVEN'T TAKEN ANY DECISIONS THIS EVENING - DID NOT INTEND

IN FACT TO TAKE ANY DECISIONS THIS EVENING. WE SHALL BE MEETING AGAIN PRIVATELY AND BILATERALLY FOR FURTHER TALKS TOMORROW MORNING, AND I DON'T DOUBT THAT IN ANY EVENT I SHALL MAKE A STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE BEFORE PARLIAMENT RECESSES FOR CHRISTMAS. NOW, WE ARE RATHER PUSHED FOR TIME, SO I WON'T SAY ANY MORE THAN THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE, SIMPLY ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS.

QUESTION: I WOULD LIKE TO ASK DR. KISSINGER HOW HE SEES THE RHODESIAN SITUATION AT THE MOMENT?

KISSINGER: WELL I THINK THAT THE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN VERY ABLY CONDUCTED BY MR. RICHARD, THAT IN A CONFERENCE BETWEEN PARTIES WHERE THE DISTRUST IS SO PROFOUND' INEVITABLY MANY DISAGREEMENTS WILL EMERGE. THE UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THIS. AND I BELIEVE THAT FROM WHAT I HAVE HEARD FROM MR. RICHARD AND FROM WHAT I KNOW THROUGH OUR CONSTANT CONTACTS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT A POSSIBILITY FOR PROGRESS EXISTS AND WILL BE EXOLORED TO THE FULLEST BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

QUESTION: DR. KISSINGER, MR. SMITH SAID IN GENEVA THIS AFTERNOON THAT HE HAD BEEN BROUGHT THERE UNDER FALSE PRETENCES, THAT HE HAD UNDERSTOOD HE WAS THERE TO IMPLEMENT THE SOLEMN, FIRM AND BINDING AGREEMENT. DO YOU THINK HE HAS ANY REASONABLE GROUNDS FOR SAYING THAT?

KISSINGER: I THINK WE HAVE GONE OVER THIS ALLEGATION REPEATEDLY. WE GAVE MR. SMITH OUR BEST JUDGEMENT OF A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOW GOING ON AND OBVIOUSLY, IN ANY NEGOTIATION, THE VIEWS OF ALL THE PARTIES MUST BE CONSIDERED.

QUESTION: MR. CROSLAND, WHEN YOU SAY THAT NO DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN, WHAT KIND OF DECISIONS MIGHT YOU HAVE TAKEN?

CROSLAND: IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF TAKING DECISIONS WEEK BY WEEK I DON'T THINK. WE CONSTANTLY REVIEW THE PROGRESS  
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PAGE 03     SECTO 32059 01 OF 03 110032Z

OF THE CONFERENCE WITH IVOR RICHARD. HE COMES BACK HERE OERIODICALLY, AS YOU KNOW. AND WE HAVE TO DECIDE TO TAKE DIFFERENT DECISIONS ACCORDING TO THE PERIOD OF TIME. WE DID TAKE A DECISION TEN DAYS AGO THAT I WOULD GIVE A PARLIAMENTARY ANSWER SAYING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO HAVE THE BRITISH PRESENCE IN RHODESIA, FOR INSTANCE. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF SPECIFIC DECISIONS BEING REQUIRED, BUT A QUESTION OF A REGULAR

KISSINGER

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PAGE 01     SECTO 00002 110036Z

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PA-02

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 SECTO 32059

REVIEW OF HOW THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS GOING TO SEE  
WHETHER THERE IS SOMETHING FURTHER WHICH WE, THE BRITISH  
GOVT, OR THE CHAIRMAN SHOULD DO IN ORDER TO BRING  
IT MORE SUCCESSFULLY TO A CONCLUSION.

QUESTION: IS THERE ANY CHANCE THAT YOU WOULD ASK  
DR. KISSINGER TO ONCE AGAIN TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN THE  
NEGOTIATIONS?

CROSLAND: WELL, I MEAN, I'D LOVE DR. KISSINGER DEEPLY  
... AND I WOULD LOVE HIM TO LIVE A FULL AND ACTIVE LIFE.  
BUT I DON'T THINK I HAVE ANY INTENTION AND I DON'T THINK  
HE HAS ANY INTENTION THAT WE SHOULD AGREE TOGETHER THAT  
THE UNITED STATES SHOULD RESUME THE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT  
ROLE WHICH THEY PURSUED - DR. KISSINGER PURSUED ON  
AMERICAN'S BEHALF - LAST SUMMER. NO. I THINK THAT IT IS  
AGREED BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, AND CERTAINLY THE TWO  
OF US, THAT THE AMERICAN ROLE, WHICH WAS CRITICAL AND  
CRUCIAL DURING THOSE MONTHS LAST SUMMER, SHOULD AT A  
CERTAIN POINT GIVE WAY TO A ROLE THAT COULD BE ONLY  
EXERCISED BY GREAT BRITAIN AS THE POWER THAT HAD SOME  
SORT OF LEGAL, CONSTITUTIONAL AND EVEN COLONIAL  
RESPONSIBILITY. AND SO IT HAS NOT BEEN A MATTER OF  
DISCUSSION BETWEEN US.

QUESTION: IN VIEW OF THE MANY STORIES THAT COME OUT  
ABOUT WHAT MR. SMITH HAS UNDERSTOOD OR NOT UNDERSTOOD.

ARE YOU PREPARED TO MEET HIM AGAIN BEFORE YOU RETIRE AS  
SECRETARY OF STATE TO CLEAR THIS UP?  
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PAGE 02     SECTO 00002 110036Z

KISSINGER: I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY NEED FOR ME TO  
MEET MR. SMITH TO CLEAR THIS UP. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY  
COMMUNICATED WITH HIM OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT WAS  
DISCUSSED. I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY NEED FOR A FURTHER  
MEETING.

CROSLAND: WE DON'T WANT TOO MUCH OF A RE-RUN ON THIS.  
SURELY. BOTH DR. KISSINGER AND I HAVE ANSWERED QUESTIONS  
ON THIS SUBJECT NOW FOR A PERIOD OF TWO MONTHS, I SHOULD  
THINK ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED TIMES.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, YOU REFERRED BEFORE TO  
NEGOTIATIONS BEING A TIME FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

KISSINGER: I BEG YOUR PARDON?

QUESTION: IN REFERENCE TO YOUR ANSWER BEFORE THAT  
NEGOTIATIONS IS A TIME FOR CONSIDERING THE VIEWS OF ALL  
PARTIES, HAVE THE BLACK LEADERS CHANGED THEIR VIEWS OR  
THEIR POSITIONS SINCE YOU WENT TO AFRICA, AND DO YOU  
CONSIDER THIS INSINCERE OR INCONSTANT OR JUST A NORMAL  
COURSE OF EVENTS IN NEGOTIATIONS?

KISSINGER: FIRST OF ALL, WHEN I WENT TO AFRICA I DEALT  
WITH, PRIMARILY WITH, TWO OF THE FRONTLINE STATES.  
BECAUSE OF THE AGREEMENT WE HAD MADE WITH PRESIDENT  
NYERERE WE DID NOT DEAL WITH THE NATIONALIST LEADERS  
DIRECTLY. SECONDLY, THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT ALL OF  
THE NATIONALIST LEADERS HAVE BEEN TOGETHER IN ONE  
NEGOTIATION, AND IT IS THEREFORE UNDERSTANDABLE THAT  
POINTS OF VIEW WILL EVOLVE AND THAT POINTS OF VIEW WOULD  
BE PRESENTED THAT WE HAD NOT HEARD PREVIOUSLY FROM PARTIES  
WITH WHICH WE HAD NOT BEEN IN CONTACT. IT IS NOT A  
QUESTION OF GOOD FAITH: IT IS A QUESTION OF FINDING A  
SOLUTION TO A PROBLEM THAT HAS EXISTED FOR A DECADE OR  
MORE, THAT NEEDS THE SERIOUS CONCERN OF ALL OF THE  
PARTIES. THIS IS WHAT I UNDERSTAND MR. RICHARD IS  
DOING. AND AGAIN, I WANT TO COMPLIMENT HIM AND TO MAKE  
CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES FULLY SUPPORTS WHAT... THE  
BRITISH CONDUCT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE ACTIONS TAKEN  
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PAGE 03     SECTO 00002 110036Z

BY THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AND MR. RICHARD.

QUESTION: WOULD YOU SAY, SIR, THAT MR. SMITH'S  
DELEGATION HAS ALSO BEEN PLAYING FAIR AS YOU DESCRIBED  
THE BLACKS AS PLAYING FAIR?

KISSINGER. I THINK THE RHODESIAN DELEGATION HAS ALSO  
WITHIN ITS LIGHTS PLAYED FAIR. I DON'T  
THINK THIS ISSUE CAN BE SETTLED BY ACCUSING EACH OTHER  
OF FAIRNESS OR UNFAIRNESS. OBVIOUSLY, BOTH PARTIES ARE  
APPROACHING THIS PROBLEM FROM TOTALLY DIFFERENT POINTS  
OF VIEW WHICH PRODUCED THE DILEMMAS TO BEGIN WITH. IT IS  
NOW TO ARRANGE FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE WHITE  
MINORITY TO THE BLACK MAJORITY, WHICH IS THE ESSENCE OF  
THE PROBLEM, UNDER CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE WHITE MINORITY  
HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ADJUST TO THE NEW-CHANGED  
CONDITONS. IT IS OBVIOUSLY AN ENORMOUSLY DELICATE AND  
COMPLICATED ISSUE, VERY PAINFUL TO SOME AND PROBLBLY VERY  
PAINFUL TO ALL, FOR ONE SIDE TO GIVE UP POWER, FOR THE  
OTHER TO TAKE IT IN STAGES, AND I DON'T THINK ANY PURPOSE  
IS SERVED BY ACCUSING ANY OF THE PARTIES OF BAD FAITH,  
BUT RATHER TO LOOK, AS I UNDERSTAND MR. RICHARD IS  
SEEKING, FOR SOME WAY BY WHICH THE IMPASSE CAN BE BROKEN.  
AND FROM WHAT I HAVE HEARD I BELIEVE THAT POSSIBILITIES  
EXIST WHICH REQUIRE EXPLORATION.

QUESTION: THE BLACK NATIONALIST LEADERS IN GENEVA ARE  
CLEARLY VERY ANXIOUS TO HAVE SPELLED OUT TO THEM WHAT  
THE DIRECT ROLE BRITAIN MIGHT BE PREPARED TO TAKE DURING  
THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT PERIOD IS. ARE YOU YET  
PREPARED TO REVEAL ANYTHING ABOUT THAT,

CROSLAND: NO, I'M NOT AT THE MOMENT. I STICK TO WHAT I  
SAID WHEN I MADE THE STATEMENT ABOUT THE BRITISH PRESENCE,  
WHICH WAS THIS: THAT HAVING EXPRESSED OUR WILLINGNESS TO  
HAVE A BRITISH PRESENCE, THAT WE WANTED TO ELICIT FROM

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PAGE 01     SECTO 32059 03 OF 03 110035Z

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PA-02

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INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 SECTO 32059

THE BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS, THAT WE WANTED TO ELICIT FROM  
THEM WHAT USEFUL ROLE THEY THOUGHT THE BRITISH COULD PLAY.  
IN OTHER WORDS, WE WANT TO GET A SENSE OF HOW THEY SEE A  
BRITISH ROLE, BEFORE WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO THE DETAIL OF  
WHAT KIND OF A ROLE WE WILL BE PREPARED TO PLAY.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE)

CROSLAND: NO, NOT AS YET, BUT MIND YOU SOME INTERESTING  
POINTS HAVE COME OUT.

QUESTION: DO YOU SEE THE RECESS AS A HELPFUL DEVELOPMENT,  
OR DOES IT MEAN NEGOTIATING FROM SOME KIND OF TROUBLE?

CROSLAND: WHAT RECESS IS THIS?

QUESTION: FROM GENEVA CONFERENCE.

CROSLAND: I HAVEN'T DECIDED ON A RECESS. I MIGHT MAKE A  
STATEMENT ABOUT THAT NEXT WEEK.

QUESTION: YOU SAID EARLIER THAT YOU HOPED TO MAKE A  
STATEMENT ON RHODESIA BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. IN  
THAT STATEMENT WILL YOU SPELL OUT THE DIRECT ROLE THAT  
YOU ENVISAGE?

CROSLAND: I SHOULD WAIT FOR THE STATEMENT. IT WILL BE  
LUCID AND VERY INTERESTING.

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PAGE 02 SECTO 32059 03 OF 03 110035Z

THANK YOU VERY MUCH INDEED.KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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